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Noun formation in modern Upper Sorbian (selected issues)

My interest in the problem of noun formation in modern Upper Sorbian has been inspired by Professor Stanisław Stachowski's article, entitled "Słowotwórstwo rzeczowników w języku górnołużyckim XVII wieku" [The formation of nouns in Upper Sorbian in the 17th century] (1968). It is a unique and model publication as far as Sorbian linguistics is concerned. In fact, the least described part of this linguistics is word-formation, especially from the historical perspective. This point was stressed in the introduction to the article by the Author himself (p. 180). Unfortunately, it should be admitted that nothing has changed since that time. We still lack analyses pertaining to the word-formation of Sorbian linguistic monuments that would help us understand their historical formative processes (cf. Pohončowa 2013: 115).

At this point, it is worth stating that the aforementioned article is not the only publication dedicated to Sorbian in the scholarly output of Prof. Stachowski. Inspired by the then head of the Slavic studies in Kraków, Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, who had tried to incline young scholars to widen

their knowledge of Slavic languages and become interested in the Polabian language and the Sorbian languages, Stanisław Stachowski started investigating the Upper Sorbian language (Bura 2006: 139). Besides the article in question, he published *Słownik do górnołużycznego Katechizmu Warychiusza (1597)* [A dictionary of the Upper Sorbian Catechism of Warichius (1597)] (1966), a linguistic monograph of Abraham Frencl's work (1967) entitled *Język górnołużycki w "De originibus linguae Sorabicae" Abrahami Frencla (1693–1696)* [Upper Sorbian in Abraham Frencl's "De originibus linguae Sorabicae"], and in 1978, a dictionary *Słownik górnołużycki Abrahami Frencla (1693–1696)* [Abraham Frencl's dictionary of Upper Sorbian (1693–1696)].

In his article, Prof. Stachowski analyzed the formation of nouns in Upper Sorbian in the 17th century based on Frencl's *De originibus linguae Sorabicae*, which was a kind of Upper Sorbian-Latin-German dictionary. He presented the rich lexical material of the dictionary according to particular semantic categories. My aim, in turn, is to show the most important tendencies and phenomena pertaining to noun formation in Upper Sorbian on the basis of the lexical material included in *Němsko-hornjoserbski słownik noweje leksiki* by H. Jenč, A. Pohončowa and J. Šolcina (2006). This dictionary, like the earlier dictionaries of Upper Sorbian, embraces both the lexical material attested in usage and potential constructions. The latter are lexical proposals that can fill the gap in Upper Sorbian equivalents of German words (Pohončowa 2013: 114). The material included in the dictionary allows us to observe word-formative phenomena within nouns that are typical of Upper Sorbian.

Considering the fact that new German words (mostly compounds) stimulate the creation of new Upper Sorbian words, the latter become models of new Upper Sorbian lexis. The material reveals one of the most common ways of creating new units, which is to calque German words (cf. Jenč 1999: 60). Below I am presenting the most typical formative models of Upper Sorbian nouns as equivalents of German compounds:

1. The equivalents of German compound nouns are mainly multi-word formations, which are most commonly of the following types:
 - a) adjective + noun, e.g. Ger. *Betriebsordnung* → USorb. *zawodny porjad* 'work regulations'; Ger. *Zentralrat* → USorb. *centralna rada* 'central council';
 - b) noun + genitive, e.g. Ger. *Selbstwertgefühl* → USorb. *začuće sebje-hódnoty* 'self-confidence'; Ger. *Zinserhöhung* → USorb. *powyšenje / zvýšenje danje* 'interest rate increase';

- c) noun + prepositional phrase, e.g. Ger. *Ursachenforschung* → USorb. *slědženje za přičinami* ‘cause study’; Ger. *Zinsabschlag(steuer)* → USorb. *dawk na dań* ‘interest rebate tax’;
- d) highly developed structures, e.g. Ger. *Rechtsbehelfsbelehrung* → USorb. *powučenje wo prawniskich / prawnych srědkach* ‘information on legal remedies’; Ger. *Sozialversicherungspflicht* → USorb. *winowatosć k socialnemu zawěšćenju* ‘obligation to obtain social insurance.’

Sometimes two of the aforementioned types form an equivalent, e.g. Ger. *Meeresfrüchte* → USorb. *mórske plody, plody morja* ‘seafood’; Ger. *Musiktherapie* → USorb. *hudźbna terapija, terapija z hudźbu* ‘music therapy.’

2. Compound nouns in Upper Sorbian are fairly common equivalents of German compounds, e.g. Ger. *Großmarkt* → USorb. *wulkowiki* ‘central market’; Ger. *Großraum* → USorb. *wulkorum* ‘metropolitan area.’

However, compounds most frequently occur synonymously, accompanied by multi-word expressions, e.g. Ger. *Buchprüfer* → USorb. *pruwowar knihow, knihipruwowar* ‘auditor’; Ger. *Großveranstaltung* → USorb. *wulkozarjadowanje, wulke zarjadowanje* ‘huge event.’

3. The percentage of derivatives as equivalents of German compounds is considerably smaller (cf. Wölke 2011: 34–35). They can occur as separate equivalents or as unverbated multi-word expressions, e.g. Ger. *Brauhaus* → USorb. *piwarnja* ‘brewery’; Ger. *Bezugnahme* → USorb. *poćahowanje* ‘reference’; Ger. *Augenbrauenstift* → USorb. *brjowkowy pisak, brjowkowc* ‘eyebrow pencil.’ The biggest category of the derivatives are names of places (cf. Jenč 2004: 113–114), most commonly ending with the following:

- a) *-arnja / -ernja*, e.g. Ger. *Pinakothek* → USorb. *wobrazarnja* [also: *wobrazowa galerija / zběrka*] ‘pinacotheca’; Ger. *Gepäckraum* → USorb. *wačokarnja* [also: *rumnosć za wačoki*] ‘boot’;
- b) *-ownja*, e.g. Ger. *Altenheim* → USorb. *starownja* [also: *dom za starych*] ‘old people’s home, retirement home’; Ger. *Tierheim* → USorb. *zwěrjatownja* [also: *zwěrjacy dom, dom za (bjezdomne) zwěrjata*] ‘animal shelter’;
- c) *-nišćo / -ownišćo / -išćo*, e.g. Ger. *Gewerbegebiet* → USorb. *přemysłownišćo* [also: *přemysłowa přestrjeń, přemysłowy teren / teritorij*] ‘industrial area’; Ger. *Informationsstelle* → USorb. *informowanišćo* [also: *informaciske měštno*] ‘information centre.’

4. Moreover, the dictionary material contains numerous abbreviations. Most commonly, they are German acronyms, e.g. ADAC (Allgemeiner Deutscher

Automobilclub ‘The General German Automobile Club’) or English acronyms adopted from German, e.g. UNICEF, UNO, which are indeclinable in Upper Sorbian. They also form the first elements of compounds that are calques from German words, e.g. Ger. *Kfz-Werkstatt* → USorb. *Kfz-džěłarnja* [also: *džěłarnja za Kfz*] ‘car workshop’ (*Kfz* = *Kraftfahrzeug* ‘motor vehicle’); Ger. *ABM-Stelle* → USorb. *ABM-měštno* [also: *ABM(-)ske / ABM(-)owe měštno*] ‘job creation scheme’ (*ABM* = *Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme* ‘employment-creation measure’).

5. At this point, we should also distinguish a group of compounds with their first elements being internationalisms (most commonly adopted in German from English) and the second native elements, e.g. Ger. *Carvingski* → USorb. *carvingsněhaki* [also: *carvingowe sněhaki*] ‘carving ski’; Ger. *Ad-hoc-Bildung* → USorb. *adhocktwórba* [also: *adhockowa twórba*] ‘ad hoc creation.’
6. We cannot omit a number of borrowings from English (taken over from German), e.g. *Chatroom* → USorb. coll. *četroom* [neutral *chatowy / četowy room*] ‘chat room’; Ger. *Babyboom* → USorb. *babyboom* [also: *babyjowy boom*] ‘baby boom.’

The lexical material included in *Němsko-hornjoserbski słownik noweje leksiki* shows that as far as the formation of nouns (but also of adjectives and to some extent of verbs) is concerned, one can observe a clearly smaller proportion of suffix derivation than multi-word formation and compounds. This phenomenon seems to have intensified under the influence of German after the political turnover of 1989/90 (cf. Pohončowa 2013: 111). This is an essential difference as compared with the suffixal derivation prevailing in the 17th century. In Professor Stachowski’s monograph *Język górnotużycki w “De originibus linguae Sorabicae” Abrahami Frencla (1693–1696)*, containing ca. 4,500 Upper Sorbian words, the compounds constitute only 18 lexemes, e.g. *dobromyslnosć* ‘longanimitas, Langmüthigkeit’; *rucezawdani* ‘stipulatio, Handschlag, das Handgeben’; *nowynarod* ‘regeneratio, nova generatio, die neue Geburt, Wiedergeburt’ (Stachowski 1967: 167–168).

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